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844 I returned to my own house at intervals during my stay at Tabut.
124 On one of these occasions, when we were discussing the subject, I got Matēv, herself the mother of six children, to give me an account of birth procedure, of which I give a literal translation. I did not interrupt Matēv with questions or comments in the course of this narrative, such explanations as were necessary being obtained afterwards. As it stands, it stresses the points which were uppermost in her mind, and were, therefore, presumably, considered of most importance, thus illustrating the native woman's point of view better than a more detailed and coherent statement obtained by less direct means would have done.

844 'The woman sits on a log. We tire ourselves out with working over the child. Now it hurts, its mother cries out, now we cut some leaves, we make her drink. Now the child is about to be born. Now she is afraid because the child hurts her. She cries out because of the child. Then I say: "You sit quietly, and your child will be born." We do like this (here Matēv went through motions indicating vigorous massage of the woman's abdomen). We shake the child. The child's head comes out first. All the women look. "Stay still, your child will be born easily. Don't break the child in your belly, if you do you will die."

'The woman is delivered of the child. The umbilical cord is fastened to the placenta. The placenta looks like liver. If the child's leg sticks in its mother's genitals, the mother holds her breath, then the child is ready to fall down. We get a coco-nut shell, we catch the blood, we carry it and throw it away in the bush.[1] We get water and pour it over the child, we wash the child. We take a shell-knife, we cut its umbilical cord, and put the afterbirth into a *kobu*. We bury it in the house. We make *poti* (a drink made of the oil from scraped coco-nut meat squeezed through banana fibre and then boiled) and *kariur* (the same but with some of the coco-nut scrapings added to the liquid). We fetch a bamboo full of water, we rub the woman's belly, we cut a leaf (the leaves used are those of the plant called *kō*, which are large and smooth), we make it hot, we warm the woman's belly. We warm the child. We take a piece of banana fibre, a large piece, and put it round the mother like a belt, then it warms her blood (the idea being that the blood will then run out easily and recovery be hastened). We

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[84]

[1] It was afterwards explained that some people did this, but others preferred to bury all the blood in the house (as was done at the births witnessed by me).

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throw away the leaves into the sea, where the tide will carry them away. We get a green coco-nut, we make a drink for her. (The word used implies a cooked drink, perhaps 'soup' would be a fair translation.) 844 [272]

'The father of the child is forbidden to eat fish, pig, and opossum. He is forbidden intercourse with the mother of the child, they are forbidden to each other. The mother of the child is angry and strikes its father (if he tries to have intercourse with her). He goes to another woman (wife) in another house. 846

'Sometimes the child remains inside its mother's belly. Then we make *poti*. We say: "What is the matter with the child, that it stays inside, it does not fall down." Another woman is fetched, to help. Soup is made of green coco-nuts for the mother. She is afraid because the child remains inside her belly. 845

'Now another woman gives birth, and something goes wrong, and she dies. Or the child dies in the belly of its mother. The women ask: "What about this child?" The mother says: "I am still carrying this child." It is dead in its mother's belly. We put a hand into its mother's genitals and pull out the child, then the mother recovers, and the child alone dies.'

COMPLICATIONS OF CHILD-BIRTH

While listening to this narrative I was struck with the emphasis which was laid on the pain suffered by the parturient, and the possibility of complications arising followed by death of mother or child or both. It has so often been supposed that child-birth in the case of primitive people is easy and relatively painless. It seems to me that this is by no means general. The woman whose first delivery has been described in this chapter certainly appeared to suffer as much as, if not more than, many primiparae among ourselves, and it is very clear both from the stress laid on pain and fear in the account given by Matēv, and from remarks of other women, that among these people at any rate, child-birth is not such a simple affair as we have been led to believe. On another occasion a woman gave birth to a dead child after forty-eight hours of agony. The attendant women became very anxious after twenty-four hours had elapsed, but they could do nothing beyond massage and the administration of various concoctions of leaves and betel. I was told that there had been a woman at Kurtatchi, the grandmother of a boy still living there, who used to put her hand into 844 845

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ing (Pl. 18*b*). Before a child who is *tmnaun* can do this, a ceremony must be performed (this is described on pp. 189–93), but nothing of the sort is needed in the case of a commoner. 854

The women do all sorts of hard work with their babies on their backs. I have seen them chopping wood with a child of apparently less than a year clinging pick-a-back fashion without being held. A mother who takes a very young child out on to the reef in the heat of the day, will generally keep its head carefully covered by her hood.

CHILDREN'S DIET

A child will be given taro, which has first been chewed to a pulp, on the very day of its birth. The quantity is soon increased. A woman will place a row of little heaps of this chewed pulp all along her thigh, as she sits on the ground, each of these forming a mouthful for the baby on her lap. Food thus prepared is called *mimi*, a word with which the baby soon becomes familiar, and one of the first he learns to say. Coco-nut, chewed in the same way, is added at an early age, but a child is not allowed to munch taro or coco-nut for itself until it can run about. 853 262

Until the child is about a year old he must not eat bananas, lest he should be afflicted with a disease of the chest called *bira*. A child that has yaws must not be given pig or fish, and must not take its food in any house except that of its parents. It must on no account eat in the presence of a woman who is pregnant, and it must not be given taro from a house in which a man and a woman have recently indulged in sexual intercourse. Since yaws is very contagious, some of these prohibitions have a practical bearing, but in the minds of the natives the harm that would follow the breaking of them is supposed to fall upon the child and not on the persons it must avoid. [753]

Babies of a few months old are given the husks of areca-nuts to suck. Children of five or six chew the nut itself freely, and also smoke both cigarettes and pipes. [276]

As soon as the household gets going in the morning, the children are given lumps of taro cooked the night before; these they usually eat cold. They chew coco-nuts at all times of the day, and drink the contents of the green nut when they are thirsty. They share the main meal of the day, usually taken at sundown, with the other members of the family. 262 272 264

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children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

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both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

September 17. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till

September 20. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the proceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasĕ, Tchub, and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in

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881 height, pushing them firmly into the ground (the floor of the hut)
272 to make the corners of a square. Cross-pieces are then tied on to
824 the four corner sticks for the sides of the square, and about a foot
417 from the top other pieces are fastened to these for the bottom. This stand, when finished, is called *taraki*. It is lined with the leaves of the special kind of banana palm which is used in the full ceremony. All the women present must drink the special mixture from the *taraki* direct, drawing it up through a length of bamboo, but some of it is put into a *kōbū* and set aside for the men.

881 The mixture put into the *taraki* is called *anam*. It is made as
272 follows: Make a bundle containing portions of the root of a certain
824 tree, and scrapings from the bark of a number of others, whose native names were given to me; I cannot give their botanical names, but I know that they are all hard-timbered trees, and are chosen for the purpose of 'making the girl's belly strong', so that she will not menstruate again too soon. Add to these the scraped outer skin of the stem of a very tough bush creeper. Then take the young leaves of a number of aromatic plants, to make the mixture smell nice. Only the top of the plants, with fresh young leaves, must be used. Take also a piece of sugar-cane broken from the middle of the stalk. Pound up all the leaves to pulp by means of stones. Take a leaf of *tskō* (a large smooth-leaved plant constantly used for wrapping up packages of food, both for carrying and for cooking purposes), and lay the pounded pulp on it, then take the rest of the ingredients previously mentioned, and lay them on top of the pulp. Sprinkle a quantity of the red powder called *owan* over the whole.

This mixture is prepared beforehand. At the time of the ceremony, the bundle is opened a little, and a hole is made in the bottom of it. One man holds it over the *taraki*, and then over the *kōbū* which the men will drink out of, while another pours coco-nut milk through the package into these receptacles. The coco-nuts must be young, with the meat still soft (*mayur*). Then some which have a little firmer meat (*wisi*) must be cut; their milk is also poured through the package. Then comes the milk of coco-nuts which are nearly ripe (*wakamitskoma*), which is not considered palatable in the ordinary way. Finally the meat of a ripe (dry) coco-nut (*makai*) is scraped and squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre; the expressed oil is added to the mixture. One man holds the package, one holds the piece of fibre, another brings and manipulates the coco-nuts. By thus pouring the milk of coco-nuts through

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the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki* and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* (impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter, probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any properties from them.

When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire. Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until such time as pregnancy is desired.

The liquid which has been poured through the package into the *taraki* and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband, and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunaun* cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the ceremony is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her

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Unfortunately, I omitted to bring home a specimen for identification. It consists of tiny green globules, and looks not unlike a bunch of grapes in the earliest stages of formation. Guppy (1887, p. 89) mentions an alga, a species of *Caulerpa*, as being eaten with relish by the natives of Treasury Island, which from his description may be the same or perhaps an allied species.

There are some varieties of edible fungi; they are not cultivated or made objects of special search, but if seen in the course of a journey through the bush, will be gathered and taken home. I cannot find in my notes any reference to the method employed in cooking them. Most of the fungi growing in the bush are avoided and are thought to be poisonous.

By far the most important of all the nuts available, and in the front rank of their foodstuffs, is the coco-nut. The meat, especially that of the nuts in the green stage, when it is soft and creamy, is a permanent stand-by as an article of diet, and at a later stage it is used in making ceremonial pudding. The cool sweetish liquid inside a green nut provides a most refreshing drink, which, fortunately, can be obtained all the year round. The nuts are procured by climbing the trunk and knocking them down. Climbing is assisted by tying a bit of fibre round the feet, which then grasp the trunk, the body is supported by the grip thus obtainable, while both hands reach up as far as possible, grasp the trunk above the head, and pull the body up towards them, till the knees are bent so as nearly to touch them, the feet then taking another hold. Men and women, boys and girls, are all very skilful at doing this, but the older men send the small boys up if there are any about. The nuts are opened in this way: the outer sheath is removed by impaling it on a stick sharpened to a point and stuck in the ground at a suitable angle. Having removed this outer covering, the opener takes a trade knife, and with two or three sharp taps, cuts off a piece of the top of the shell as we slice the top off a boiled egg. The liquid is then drunk straight from the nut. If there is no knife handy, two of the 'eyes' will be pierced with a stick or sharp stone, but drinking is then a much slower process, and the other is preferred.

Canarium almonds are esteemed a great delicacy, and the time when they are ripe is eagerly anticipated. This is one of the few products that are not available all the year round. During the time of my residence, the first nuts were brought in on May 14, and the

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the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset (Pl. 36*b*). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*) made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in. These water-containers (Pl. 36*a*) are called *ruin*; the same word is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths of bamboo (Pl. 37*a*). I have known men from the mountains walk many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness, but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality. One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun. On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is *obau*. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut, thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller